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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART VII

"ORGANIZING MANCHUKUO"

(22 May - 12 Jul 1934)
Vol I

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[redacted]

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Major, Field Artillery
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THE SAIONJI - HARADA MEMOIRS

PART SEVEN: ORGANIZING MANCHUKUO

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 131
(22 May 1934)

Scandal in Rayon

Translated by Lt Morio Morihara

At 9:30 on the morning of the 14th, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came to the Prince's home and talked with him for about two hours. The Prince talked about this when I went to get him just as he was about to go to the Omiya Palace on the morning of the 15th. There were various suggestions which had reached the Lord Keeper's place from the HIRANUMA faction, and the Lord Keeper said to the Prince "You are antagonistic toward HIRANUMA and we have a difficult time." (Baron HARADA's note: The Reason for this statement was that according to Marquis KIDO and Count MAKINO, Prince SAIONJI had once said that it would be permissible for HIRANUMA to form a cabinet but had not endorsed him wholeheartedly.)

The Prince said: "I am not antagonistic toward him; an objection to his becoming President of the Privy Council is not an objection to his becoming Premier. But there is not only HIRANUMA to be considered. As long as we have the appropriate person, it would be permissible to make him Premier."

The Prince said to me: "I don't know whether it's because they're both from the Satsuma clan, but the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal seems to feel an attachment towards HIRANUMA, so will you tell that to KIDO?" I met KIDO after that and said: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal came to the Prince's place and said certain things. Therefore you must give a serious warning to the Lord Keeper. I say this because, although it is all right for HIRANUMA

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himself to become Premier, the men behind HIRANUMA and the men who will later be behind him will utilize HIRANUMA's position as Premier to create various difficult situations. It is a fact that the presentation of such opportunities might be the basis of some unforeseen injury to the country. It is clear that if HIRANUMA becomes Premier, he will certainly extend his hands into the affairs of the Imperial Palace. He will not only damage relations between the Palace and the administration, but he may create a gap between these two and make it so that things will go very badly at the Palace. If possible, things should be returned to their normal course by gradually calming down everyone. The base should be formed first, and then when the times demand it, an administration capable of leading in such times should be realized. The Genro must also consider that to prevent the creation of an unfavorable atmosphere in which the base may be upset calls for the utmost caution. That is what I believe."

KIDO agreed completely with me and said: "I will caution the Lord Keeper when opportunity permits."

The people were stirred up by the Rayon Scandal. There were rumors that Vice-Minister KURODA would be summoned to court, and there was quite a bit of commotion. Prince KONOYE left Yokohama at 3:00 o'clock on the 17th on the Asama Maru, headed for the United States. It was a gay send-off not to be seen in recent years. Premier SAITO came to the boat to see him off and the boat was filled with officials from all quarters. KONOYE had some champagne with the send-off party and left in a cheerful atmosphere.

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I went to the Foreign Minister's place on the 16th, and the Foreign Minister said: "Before Prince KONOYE left, the Navy Minister wanted to meet him badly. The Navy Minister had said: 'I want you to transmit this message by all means. KONOYE will probably meet various people when he goes to America, but will you tell him to refrain absolutely from touching on the disarmament conference?' That was the Navy Minister's message." The Foreign Minister said: "Since KONOYE met the War Minister, please arrange a meeting with the Navy Minister." I immediately went to KONOYE's place and said: "How about coming to my place for breakfast on the morning of the 17th in order to meet the Navy Minister?" KONOYE replied: "I would like to do that, by all means."

When I related this to the Navy Minister, he was very happy, and said: "Then I shall take along the Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Vice-Minister of the Navy." The Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff, the Vice-Minister of the Navy, and the Navy Minister came to my home on the morning of the 17th. Prince KONOYE also came and we had breadfast together, conversing on various subjects. We parted after opening some champagne together. According to the Navy Minister's opinions at that time, his wishes were that: "There be no amendment of the London Naval Treaty. It would be all right if Japan's wishes were to be accepted but if there was no hope of that, it was the better policy for Japan to propose the abolition of the treaty." He seemed a little dissatisfied with the Premier and said: "The Premier feels that he would like to see this concluded." At any rate, the Navy Minister

and Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff were very happy that they were able to meet KONOYE before he left. KONOYE must also have found it advantageous on various occasions to have spoken to the Naval authorities.

I met the Justice Minister on the afternoon of the 18th. The Justice Minister said: "I related everything to Finance Minister TAKAHASHI concerning the problem of Vice-Minister KURODA and four others before the opening of the Cabinet conference. The real status of Vice-Minister KURODA will not be clear until after further investigation, but I wanted the Finance Minister to be cautious concerning it. I said that although the blame would be put on various people, the authorities would not be able to make decisions by listening only to one side. Therefore it was urgent that preliminary investigations be carried out and the situation watched for a little while longer." The Justice Minister further stated: "Concerning this present problem, the Public Procurator's office brought two friends--KANEKO, Naokichi, and FUJITA, Kenichi--and questioned them. As a result, various problems became clearer."

Formerly, I had heard from other quarters that KANEKO Naokichi hated NAGASAKI Eizo very much, and I understood everything very well after listening to the Justice Minister's tale.

Although OKUBO of the Banking Bureau, Chief Secretary ONO, and a few groups knew KURODA as an individual, this problem was difficult to understand. In ONO's case especially, it may still seem to be incredible, but he is not the only one. The people are saying that this scandal is being utilized to bring about the collapse of the Cabinet, and

are starting various movements. However it is the general opinion of well-informed circles that in this situation the only thing to do is to wait until matters subside a little, before proceeding any further. The newspaper reporters are coming to our place night and day, and saying: "The Cabinet must be thrown out immediately"; "The Finance Minister will have to be careful tonight"; "The President of the Bank of Japan will be arrested"; etc. They are spreading irresponsible comments as usual and are stirring up the public more than ever. I don't know whether they are serious or are doing this just for fun; if the newspaper reporters brought problems that were of an important nature it would be all right. But I would rebuke them severely, telling them that it wouldn't be for society's nor the country's good, when they spread silly rubbish just because they heard it. However, drunk with journalistic power as they are, it will never be possible to stop them while they are in this condition. I felt this strongly.

On the morning of the 19th, KURODA was summoned and on that evening was confined in the Ichigaya prison after being indicted. Next, ONO and the others were taken in, and the public was all the more excited, but the Prince left Tokyo for Okitsu on the 20th as scheduled.

Up to now, the Prince did not desire to touch upon this problem, and although he seemed quite anxious about later developments, he was exceedingly annoyed at the reporters' indiscreet attitude. Some quote powerful party members also were joining in the clamor. They do not meditate upon their maladministration up to the present time and their attitude is such that they are looking for

a chance for themselves to appear in this confusion. It was indeed regrettable that they were striving among themselves to prevent the grasping of political power by the parties. At such a time, various suggestions, such as "UGAKI" etc. are advanced.

The other day the Chief of the Air Headquarters asked me, when he was about to leave for Korea and Manchuria, whether I had anything to descuss. I replied: "I have no special message. However do not be deceived by the rabble. Bear in mind that it is better to fulfil your duties in Korea than to be a poor Premier." I said this to the Prince the other day when various problems arose, and the Prince said: "Although you say that, I feel a slight attachment to UGAKI. He is still quite a fine character." However I said: "At present, it might be possible to give the military an uneasy feeling and I believe that it is not the proper time yet."

I accompanied the Prince to Okitsu on the 20th, and after resting there for a day, I returned on the night of the 21st to Tokyo.

I telephoned the Premier and the Justice Minister to inquire about the situation, but there was nothing unusual and the Justice Minister said: "As far as the Public Procurator's Office is concerned, the matter of the Finance Ministry is about completed. The procurator's office will investigate documents concerning the Kobe Seikosho next, so it will be some time before the next summons is issued."

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Chapter 132
(28 May 1934)

Saito Moves to Resign

Translated by Lt Morio Morihara

I met the Justice Minister on the 24th. According to the Minister's story, which he said he heard from the Public Procurator,: "The Public Procurator said that he would make a preliminary investigation of the men connected with the Finance Ministry for about a week, and that he would investigate the relations of the Bancho Society with other organizations. From the evidence, HATOYAMA gradually became prominent in getting closer to the Bancho Society in order to make financial preparations for the Seiyukai in the coming general election. At first SHIMADA stoutly refused this (money from the Bancho Society), but the details became gradually clearer and it became known that KURODA and MITSUCHI were active among the members of the Seiyukai."

I then went to meet the Premier. The Premier said: "I have thought over various things, but I believe that in the end, this Cabinet will have to resign. I think that it is difficult to hold out much longer. I say this because the suspected relations of the Finance Ministry have gradually become actualities, and if HATOYAMA is found to be implicated, my position will become difficult. Since it is my responsibility, I am thing of a successor; right now, among the men you mentioned the other day, I think that Admiral OKADA is most appropriate. The basic principle is to continue the present political alignment. I do not want to disturb the general situation, and especially in economic and financial matters, we will proceed by obtaining the indirect aid of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI. Therefore

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there must be a person who will continue the policies of Minister of Finance TAKAHASHI. The problem is very difficult, but considering it from various angles, it is necessary to choose a person who will not cause apprehension concerning the preservation of administrative order. At the same time there is the problem of the revision of the Naval Treaty, so in preparation for this, we must have a person who has a considerable knowledge of naval affairs. After much consideration I believe that Admiral OKADA is most suitable, so will you transmit this to the Prince?"

The public is saying at this time that the aged KIYOURA will be nominated, or that General UGAKI will be put up. Others are insistently saying that no one will be nominated except President of the Seiyukai, SUZUKI. At any rate some elements of the Seiyukai are circulating various rumors.

Colonel Sadaichi SUZUKI came to my place and said: "It is all right to have UGAKI now, isn't it?" On the other hand, although I do not know why he is saying such things, he is telling the newspaper reporters: "It will be terrible if UGAKI is appointed."

When I met KIDO, I said: "The Premier is saying that after all OKADA is the best man." KIDO also said he believed that as long as his health continued good, Admiral OKADA was the most suitable man. He mentioned OKADA to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Minister of the Imperial Household the other day, and they all agreed heartily. KIDO desired that I keep this abdolutely secret.

KIDO earnestly said: "When it comes to such things

as the preservation of the present administrative system; common sense; courage; power to continue the present situation at all costs; I believe that Admiral OKADA is the best man." KIDO also said: "This is very strange; the Army will be highly critical if UGAKI is chosen, but if someone besides UGAKI who is not connected with the Army is appointed, they will not object very much."

I then visited Finance Minister TAKAHASHI at his place. Minister TAKAHASHI said: "The recent Finance Ministry scandal is exceedingly queer. Although I should not be saying such things, I still cannot believe it. People are saying that HIRANUMA is inciting the young Public Procurator in order to bring about the collapse of the Cabinet and so forth, but I do not know how true this is. It may not be possible to resign hastily and carelessly, but in the end, there is nothing else to do. With respect to the future, there are rumors that if UGAKI is appointed Premier, paymaster SHODA will become the Finance Minister, and I think that this would be awful."

I asked: "If anything should happen, is there anyone whom you might consider as a suitable successor to you?" TAKAHASHI replied: "People are speaking well of MITSUCHI, and although I cannot say this to other people, I talked with MITSUCHI after the collapse of the 15th Bank in regard to its reorganization. Since then, I cannot place much faith in him. Therefore it is also undesirable to have MITSUCHI. Seihin IKEDA and Toyotaro YUUKI are also mentioned, but they are also undesirable. HIJIKATA is not very popular with the Nippon Bank and the Finance Ministry, but if he should succeed to the position, I believe that

he would continue its policies in general. If HIJIKATA should visit me, and come for conferences, the public would not be suspicious.... This is indeed a difficult problem."

Since then there are some who are advocating the friendship of KIYOURA and HIRANUMA, and actually there is a certain KUMAMOTO faction that is working for their closer relations.

KIDO said: "The Minister of Home Affairs seems a bit sorry for Count KIYOURA because he didn't become President of the Privy Council. It may be because he wants to do something for him that he is considering KIYOURA for the succeeding Cabinet." However, since OKADA was mentioned, KIDO said: "OKADA would be most appropriate."

This seemed to happen on the 21st, but KURODA of the Koseikai and five or six other people gathered at the home of ICHITA Kohashi in Chigasaki and decided to support KIYOURA. I heard from newspaper reporters that this was a secret meeting in which they decided that they would have Count KIYOURA at the head; MASUDA would be appointed Finance Minister; the War and Navy Ministers would be retained; the Presidents of both parties would be appointed as Ministers without Portfolio; in 1936 UGAKI would be appointed Premier. I also heard from reliable sources that the ones who acted as go-betweens were reporters from the Hochi who are natives of Kumamoto. Thus every day the newspapers are supporting anyone their fancy may suggest for the succeeding Cabinet.

I went to Okitsu on the 25th, and transmitted the Premier's message to the Prince. I said: "The Premier feels that, in various respects, Admiral OKADA is the man most suited to lead the succeeding Cabinet. It seems

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difficult for this Cabinet to continue much longer." The Prince replied: "I have believed for a long time that OKADA was an influential candidate. However will you briefly encourage them and tell them to exert themselves without quoting me on this? Tell that to KIDO, and concerning the Premier, if there should be a change of Cabinet members, I would like to make a secret report as we did formerly. Will you have KIDO tell the Premier the contents of the secret report?"

I reported the main developments since the 20th to the Prince and returned that night. About 8:00 o'clock the next morning, I went to the Premier's place and said: "It is the Prince's reply that although he heard your story, he desires you to continue as long as possible." The Premier said: "To tell you the truth, this is one time that I will not be able to do as I please. I am very worried."

(Morning of the 26th)

Saionji-Harada Memoirs

Chapter 133
(4 June 1934)

Rivals For the Premiership

Translated by Lieut Morio Morihara

Concerning the Seiyukai, newspaper articles have appeared in various circles intimating that if political power does not come into the hands of the Seiyukai, the Party will not appoint any Minister to the next Cabinet.

UCHIDA, Nobuuari came on the morning of the 28th, and said: "Formerly, the President of the Seiyukai, in order to gain political power, said that it would absolutely refrain from aiding a Cabinet which comprises members of another political party. In other words, it would not appoint any members to such a Cabinet from the Seiyukai. He introduced this at the meeting of the General Directors of the Seiyukai, and endeavored to have it published as a resolution of that conference, but the request was not approved at the General Directors' meeting and they decided to take an attitude of watchful waiting. Since the meeting of the General Directors did not go as he desired, he gave a story to the papers. He also goaded YAMAMOTO Saitaro into calling a conference of the senior members. His intention was to seek the return of total political power to the Seiyukai in case of a political change. He sent out notices of such a meeting to various people but TOKONAMI, MOCHIZUKI, and KUHARA did not attend it. SHIMADA, who was there, opposed his proposal and said: "In the first place, this is not the time to issue such ultimatums. It is better not to do it." As a result, the meeting of the senior members lost its importance and finally ended in failure.

On the other hand, since it was learned that Governor

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General of Korea UGAKI was to return to Tokyo, assassination plots to scare him were planned, and an element of the Army and anti-UGAKI factions spread a lot of propaganda. They said: "UGAKI also is connected with the current Teikoku Rayon scandal, in other words the Bank of Taiwan issue;" or: "During the London Conference, UGAKI said that the decision upon personnel strength lay with the Government, and made statements disadvantageous to the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals. He is an extreme moderate." This propaganda was circulated among the young officers of the Navy and the Army and stirred up anti-UGAKI sentiment.

Colonel INOUYE, Kiyozumi of the House of Peers came to my home and said: "I already have told KIDO of this. An admiral came and cautioned me that feelings against UGAKI were very high and that even in the Navy there were strong movements." I said: "This admiral you refer to is Rear Admiral MAZAKI of Yokosuka, isn't he?" INOUYE hesitated at first, but later admitted it. It was clear that this was the result of General MAZAKI's (older brother) encouragement and the plotting of the Chief of the Gendarmerie.

On the same day, the 28th, I visited the Justice Minister and inquired of the situation of the Bancho Society. The Justice Minister replied: "The Bancho Society and some powers in the Yomiuri got together, and they tried to buy stocks from the Taiwan Bank. It seems that the originator is HATOYAMA, and that MITSUCHI and NAKAJIMA were later taken into his confidence. There are various rumors attributed to Public Procurator KURODA such as: 'HIRANUMA should be transferred---; or: 'the Justice Ministry is Fascistic,' but actually KURODA is exercising extreme

circumspection. Again, since there are various similar rumors, I have often called Public Procurator KURODA and other procurators and have cautioned them to be more circumspect."

I also inquired of the situation from MIYAKI Shotaro of the Supreme Court, because he was on unfriendly terms with the present Justice Minister, OYAMA. I asked him various questions to see how he would answer; he said: "Although they say various things about the Public Procurator, he is very cautious, so there is absolutely no cause for worry." He continued: "The Procurator-General is supervising the Chief Procurator, and is having him act fairly, and the various rumors are only for various purposes." Even MIYAKE has faith in the fair attitude of the Public Procurator's office.

Those who circulate various rumors are the elements in the political parties that are in trouble and those that are endeavoring to lead the Justice Minister into a disadvantageous position in the present Cabinet.

I went to the War Minister's place and met him for the first time in a long while. The War Minister said: "Either the SAITO Cabinet should continue, carrying out a complete reorganization; or, I believe, Vice-President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA is the most appropriate man. It is exceedingly dangerous for UGAKI to appear at this time because not only in the Army but even in the Navy anti-UGAKI feelings are very strong." The War Minister said that the Navy also harbored strong anti-UGAKI sentiments because of Chief of the Gendarmerie HATA's and General MAZAKI's indoctrination; in the end their conspiracies

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were apparent.

The War Minister insistently inquired: "Why does Prince SAIONJI object to Vice-President of the Privy Council HIRANUMA?" I replied: "I do not think that the problem is whether HIRANUMA is the appropriate man or not. However, IKKI was the appropriate man as President of the Privy Council. Again, there is no necessity to criticize HIRANUMA himself. However, in respect to the fact that he is easily misunderstood, he is like UGAKI." Thus, I returned without touching too much up on the subject of Baron HIRANUMA.

On my return, Secretary ARISUE met me in the corridor of the official residence of the War Minister and anxiously said: "Actually, it is my desire to keep in close touch with you...." I made some appropriate reply, and returned.

Concerning the War Minister's reference to HIRANUMA, he did not seem to have met him directly. He only seemed to have this opinion because others had said that: "HIRANUMA is good." Again, HIRANUMA seemed to be the choice in order to prevent UGAKI from appearing.

I had considered Admiral OKADA's case but there were various causes of anxiety that appeared gradually. The Admiral himself seemed to be conscious of the fact that he was once considered as one of the heads of the moderate faction. I departed on the night of the 28th and stopped at Shizuoka. I went to the Prince's place on the morning of the 29th and reported various recent developments. I also told the Prince about the death of Admiral TOGO. There was a telephone call from the Ministry of the Imperial Household. When the Prince answered the phone, KIDO said: "I heard this from the Minister of the Imperial Household and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Premier SAITO

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also came. They were of the opinion that Admiral TOGO should be made a Marquis." Prince SAIONJI asked if it was a Prince or a Marquis, and KIDO replied that it was a Marquis. Prince SAIONJI said: "It's all right that he should even be made a Prince. I'm in favor of it." Thus, Prince SAIONJI immediately expressed his approval and ended the telephone conversation. I talked to him on various subjects after that and returned to Tokyo in the evening, after reporting to him upon the general situation.

I called Admiral OKADA early in the morning of the 30th. Admiral OKADA requested that I come, so I went in the morning. Admiral OKADA said: "Upon inquiring about various factors, it is quite necessary to guard against UGAKI. During the amendment of the London Treaty, men like KATO and SUETSUGU seem to have gained the cooperation of men like the former Chief of the Fleet. According to SUETSUGU's explanation: 'Up to now, if the others had complied with Japan's wishes there would not have been any trouble. However all of the preparation was made by the others, and the important national defense plan was influenced by other countries. It is outrageous that an important thing such as national defense should be decided by the work of other countries. Instead of concluding a treaty, it is important that our country decide on its own national defense plan, and even the Navy will refrain from saying various things when the finances of the country are in difficulty. Therefore the replenishment of national defense within financial limitations is a foregone conclusion and there is no need to do anything by treaty.' He invites various persons to the machiai in Akasaka and circulates

such propaganda. Their group seems strongly united, and considerable caution is necessary. Men such as Admiral NOMURA are saying: 'It seems dangerous to appoint Admiral KOBAYASHI as the Navy Minister at this time. In the final analysis, KATO and SUETSUGU are drunk with power at this time but public reaction will soon set in and this situation will not last forever. There is no need to worry.' "

Looking at the general situation it also seemed difficult for Admiral OKADA to appear. Therefore I wrote the Prince a letter and had a messenger take it on the 31st. I then met Premier SAITO and talked with him on various subjects. He was also slightly concerned about the same things. It seemed to be the opinion of the Premier that he would not mind continuing if Finance Minister TAKAHASHI were retained. However, other problems, such as the affair involving HATOYAMA, MITSUCHI, and NAKAJIMA were serious, and the general consensus of opinion was that he could not continue so it was difficult for him to do so.

On the other hand, KIDO came and said: "An exceedingly difficult problem has arisen. In case of a political change, it seems to be SAIONJI's plan to obtain the former Premier's opinion, and he seems to have nominated a succeeding Premier by secret report to the Emperor. However, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: 'SAITO and TAKAHASHI are members of the present Cabinet. WAKATSUKI is president of a political party. Therefore they should not participate in conferences in case there is an Imperial Inquiry at this time.' Even if I should say: 'Then it will be permissible for the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Privy

Councillors, and the Genro to decido,' the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will say: 'I would also like to add KIYOURA because of his service and other qualities. I would like to make him a sort of quasi-Genro.' This is an exceedingly difficult problem. Please transmit this to Prince SAIONJI."

KIDO will go to Okitsu to visit the Prince and to execute his mission but I know full well that the Prince will disagree. KIDO was reported to have said that: "Since this is an important problem, I would like to examine it minutely." KIDO left on the night of the 3rd and he was to meet the Prince for a conference on the morning of the 4th.

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Chapter 134
(9 June 1934)

How Select A Premier?

Translated by Lieut. Morio Morihara

KIDO returned to Tokyo the next day. He was criticized by the newspaper reporters because of the inappropriate time at which he had made his visit, and he seemed to be in considerable trouble. However he did not reveal the contents of his conversation with the Prince. When I met KIDO, he said: "I talked on various subjects with Prince SAIONJI, and he seemed to be in general agreement. He said he would think it over."

After taking part in the funeral services of Admiral TOGO on the 5th, I departed for Shizuoka at night. I reached the Prince's home on the morning of the 6th. The Prince said: "There is a matter of importance that I want you to consider. KIDO came yesterday and spoke of the matter of Imperial Inquiry in case of a political change, and the matter which has already been secretly reported. KIDO said: 'It is quite difficult at this time to act in accordance with your secret report. First of all, former Premier WAKATSUKI is a president of a political party and it is not wise to include him in conferences. Concerning Premier SAITO, there is no need to call him at such a time. Discussions of succeeding cabinets can be had with him at any time. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI is the centre of the problem and he probably will hold back and not say anything. I would like to include Count KIYOURA, by making him a sort of quasi-Genro.' That seemed to be KIDO's opinion, and he also said: 'How about replying to the Imperial Throne by holding conferences between

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the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the President of the Privy Council, and the Genro?' He was very earnest in his statements. I gave this matter serious consideration after KIDO went home and realized that this was an important problem. First of all, at the present time we must hold to the spirit of the Constitution when replying to the Imperial Throne. The report must contain something by which the Emperor can recognize the will of the people. In other words, the Emperor, who is the ruler, must always be aware of the will of the people, and carry out administration according to their opinions. Even if WAKATSUKI is President of a political party, I think that it is proper that he participate since he was once a Premier. Some say: 'Premier SAITO is currently in office and there is no need to include him because his opinions can always be obtained.' However, such secret discussions should be avoided. Therefore, when publicly replying to the Imperial Throne, the former Premier, as one of the most influential of the elder statemen, should participate in conferences. Some say: 'TAKAHASHI probably will not say anything because he is the responsible person.' However, it is because he is the responsible person that he should explain various matters in detail. Therefore it is better to summon TAKAHASHI also. KIYOURA must similarly participate because he was also a former Premier. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by making KIYOURA a quasi-Genro in order to have him included. It is absolutely necessary to solve important problems by fair and open methods. The fact that the former premiers con-

ferred with each other would show that the will of the people was represented. This would be in complete conformity with the Emperor's constitutional ideas, and it would be very dictatorial and dangerous if a small group such as the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. the President of the Privy Council, and the elder statesmen should be accorded exclusive participation, and if the reply to the Imperial Throne were to be made by the elder statesmen. I believe that it is clearly discernible that society desires the people's representation in politics. After the Manchurian Incident, there came a period of administration in which public opinion was utterly disregarded. However, in my opinion that era is about to vanish. Therefore will you please consider this further?"

I replied that I would examine it further. I decided to withhold this problem from KIDO for a while, and made other reports to the Prince.

Rear Admiral SAKANO has suddenly been relieved of his duties as Chief of the Naval Information Bureau. In the evening editions of the 4th, SAKANO had said: "The Navy respects tradition and is wholly unconnected with politics. Therefore it is absolutely impossible that so-called anti-UGAKI sentiment such as that: 'UGAKI is outrageous' exist within the Navy. The Navy abstains totally from politics, and we do not desire that the Navy be misunderstood as a result of such propaganda."

This aroused the antagonism of the men in the Navy. It especially injured Admiral KATO's feelings and the Chief finally was forced to resign from his post. The statement concerning SAKANO was made on the day follow-

ing Governor General UGAKI's arrival in Tokyo, and there were some who thought that the time was especially inappropriate. Everyone thought that the contents of the statement were in conformity with the demands of the general public. So the fact that SAKANO was discharged from his post surprised the public, and it became doubtful of Naval unity.

Upon inquiring about this problem I learned that SAKANO was a victim of the internal struggle within the group of news paper reporters in the Navy Ministry which was called the Kokucho Society. Rear Admiral SAKANO was formerly stationed in America and stayed in the Chief of the Naval General Staff's Office after he returned to Japan. However he was sent overseas again and has just returned. One of the causes is that he was slightly unfamiliar with present-day conditions in our society.

According to Military Affairs Bureau Chief NAGATA: "It is better for General UGAKI to return to Korea right away. There are various criticisms from elements in the Army, but they are not serious."

I met Finance Minister TAKAHASHI before I departed. TAKAHASHI said: "I still have my doubts concerning the Public Procurator's Office. At any rate, the platform of this Cabinet was the enforcement of official discipline, and only by such a Cabinet can a fair trial be assured. I believe that it is Premier SAITO's responsibility to be fair to the very end. No matter whether they are members of the present Cabinet or not, if they are adjudged guilty as a result of a court trial, they should be punished according to law. He

should not be influenced by various conditions, and he should purify politics. I believe that these are his most importan. missions. I am holding back, and have not said these things directly to the Premier, but I have always hoped for these things. I am not saying that the Vice-Minister of Finance and the Bureau Chief should wait until the end of the preliminary hearings, but they cannot act rashly until the future is a little clearer. Even if the Vice-Minister and the Bureau Chief are declared guilty, Prince CHICHIBU has gone to Manchuria by Imperial Order, and a political change within the country is undesirable. Therefore, no matter what happens, I will not resign until Prince CHICHIBU returns from Korea. I plan to consider this matter fully. This is an important time and if the old Prince has an opinion, I would like to ask his guidance."

Concerning this problem the following was the Prince's message to the Finance Minister: "I agree heartily with his opinion. Because the present situation is serious, the Finance Minister should relate his opinions frankly to the Premier. I believe that it is the patriotic thing actively to cooperate with the Premier, and I hope for the Finance Minister's frank discussion of opinions with the Premier."

Going back to the former problem of the Prince's anxiety concerning the Reply to the Imperial Throne in case of a succeeding Cabinet, the Prince said: "If the Government becomes too autorcratic, there will be an opposite reaction, and the public and the military will unite. And if they should criticize the Imperial Household, matters will be very difficult. Therefore it is

better, as was done before, to summon all of the former premiers and to tell them to aid in drafting the Reply to the Imperial Throne. Please consider this matter fully." I immediately took leave of him and returned to Tokyo.

I visited Finance Minister TAKAHASHI early the next morning and transmitted the Prince's message. Minister TAKAHASHI was taking an extremely cautious attitude and said: "Well -- I'll think about it first and then speak to the Premier."

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Chapter 135
(15 June 1934)

Saionji as Educator

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 10th, Marquis HIROHATA, Lord Steward to Her Imperial Majesty, visited Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu coming from the Imperial Villa at Hayama. When Prince SAIONJI visited the Palace recently, he told the Emperor his fundamental ideas concerning the future education of the Imperial Princesses and the Crown Prince. This visit (of Marquis HIROHATA) was based on the fact that the Emperor had said to HIROHATA, Lord Steward to Her Imperial Majesty: "It seems that SAIONJI has many ideas. Please listen to them." In spite of the fact that this visit had no political or other significance, and was purely a discussion of Imperial Household matters, in view of the times, the press connected it with politics and wrote it up quite fully.

The substance of what Prince SAIONJI said to the Emperor was: "Responsible persons like the Imperial Household Minister and the Lord Steward to Her Imperial Majesty are, naturally, worried about the education, and this is only proper. At the same time, the Emperor himself must bear in mind the education of the Crown Prince and Princesses to see that it does not run contrary to the trend of the times.

"In the future, the Imperial Princesses may not always marry members of the Imperial Family. You must consider the fact that they may marry below the Imperial Family. While you should be careful that they are not drowned in parental love, it is also not wise to leave

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them too much in the care of others. No matter whom they marry (outside of the Imperial Family), their education must be one which will bring them up to be worthy persons."

He (SAIONJI) continued: "This is still a matter of the distant future. I believe that the Crown Prince has his own natural talents. Ascertain his nature well, and give him an education that is adapted to it. Please plan adequately, so that in the future he will become a worth successor and an Emperor of high virtue. It is a very mistaken idea, these days, for a parent to want to educate his child as he pleases without reason. Each person has his own temperament. You must appreciate his traits and take care to cultivate them."

On the morning of the 11th, I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place. I said: "After giving them matter much consideration, I believe it would be most suitable to follow for the next time the plan which has already been privately reported to the Emperor, as you say. When I met IKKI, President of the Privy Council, the other day, he expressed the same opinion. The Prime Minister also has the same opinion, believing that: 'It is excellent to solicit the opinions of many in order to make the choice as fairly as possible.' I think that you (Prince SAIONJI) are right in worrying lest politics might become autocratic. Therefore, I think that it is most suitable, on this occasion, to carry the matter out as reported privately to the Emperor."

Prince SAIONJI stated: "That sets my mind at rest. I wonder if KIDO is also in accord with my opinion." I

told Prince SAIONJI: "KIDO has been of the same opinion from the first. However, due to his position as Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and to his having been spoken to by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, he unavoidably said what he did. Fundamentally, he does not have a different opinion." Anyway, I made a report of matters as they stand now and came home.

When I met the Prime Minister on the 12th, he said: "The report of the Minister of Justice has been greatly delayed. I am greatly troubled by this, but it's unavoidable. The public is saying that it is retarding official business that there is laxity in discipline. The Finance Ministry is engaged energetically in the drafting of the budget."

Next I visited the Minister of Justice. He said: "I am seriously troubled because I have no idea what KURODA, Vice-Minister (of Finance) is saying. I have received a report saying: 'It is distressing that no actual proof has been found, but KURODA and OKUBO have already confessed.'" He added: "I think that the Finance Ministry alone will take one week. Another matter which will have to be investigated, along with the problem of the Finance Ministry, is that of the Bank of Formosa. Therefore it will probably take more than one week."

I told the Foreign Minister about Prince SAIONJI's suggestion that KONOYE might perhaps take a tour of Europe on his way back from America. He replied: "I think that it will be better, on the whole, if he returns as scheduled." I consulted KIDO about this also, but KIDO, too, said: "It is better for him to return without going to Europe."

Late at night MATSUMO, Tsuruhei, came over and advocated a SUZUKI Cabinet saying: "Whether it's true of false, critics like BABA, Tsunago, are saying of late: 'Why not return to party Cabinets? Wouldn't it be best for the Imperial Command to go to the President of the Seiyukai, and for the President to select a Cabinet of able men?'"

I expressed my views and sent him home saying: "It is too late now for SUZUKI to talk about disregarding partyism. If he had joined the present Cabinet when it was formed, and had shown, even a little, that he, SUZUKI, had worked for the good of the nation, disregarding party-ism, for two years, there might be some people who would be convinced. HoweverHATOYAMA, whom he put in the Cabinet, has only been stirring up matters, and there is no evidence that he did anything earnest as a member of the Cabinet. The attitude of SUZUKI, as President of the Seiyukai, on the outside only made everyone wonder still more whether something couldn't be done about it. The fact cannot now be disputed that he did not show any sincere effort. Such a proposal (SUZUKI Cabinet) is unworthy of discussion." On the morning of the 12th, I phoned Governor-General UGAKI. I expressed my regrets atnot having visited him even once during his stay. I relayed Prince SAIONJI's message: "Please give him my regards." The Governor-General was very cheerful and said: "I shall come back as soon as possible." He departed that day.

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Chapter 136
(21 June 1974)

Saionji On Public Opinion

Translated by Miss Miwako Yamamoto

I (HARADA) had planned to depart on the 15th and go to Prince SAIONJI's place on the 16th. However, when I reached Shizuoka on the evening of the 15th, someone came to meet me and said: "Prince SAIONJI asks you to come immediately." When I got there, he said: 'This may not be anything serious. However, HIRANUMA sent NAKAGAWA, Kojuro, with the following message to the Navy Minister: 'The man to be the next Prime Minister is KATO, Kanji. Tell this to Prince FUSHIMI through General ARIMA.' The Navy Minister, uninfluenced by such talk, declined in a roundabout manner. I hear that YOKOYAMA, Sukehide, is going as HIRANUMA's messenger to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to say: 'Admiral KATO, Kanji is the most suitable person for Prime Minister.' Please keep this story an absolute secret. Naturally, I want you to keep it confidential that you heard it from me. I think I shall watch the situation a little longer. In any event, caution KIDO only. I don't think that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal will be influenced by such a person, but I am worried and ask that you take care of the matter." He added: "It may seem that I am somewhat hasty. However, I wanted to let you know about it as soon as possible, so I called you."

I told Prince SAIONJI that the Prime Minister had sent his regards. I related to him the fact that FUTAKAMI, Chief Secretary of the Privy Council was to fill the vacancy of President of the Court of Administrative Litigation; Dr. SHIMIZU was to be appointed Privy Coun-

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cillor; Secretary MURAKAMI was to be made Chief Secretary of the Privy Council. I stated that the Cabinet meetings on the budget would finally begin on the 26th.

I relayed what the Foreign Minister had stated: "The Army seems to be in a hurry to end negotiations concerning the North China Railways, and something may be accomplished this time." He (Foreign Minister) had continued: "Political differences are supposed to be excluded from consideration of the disarmament problem. There is a provision in the Washington Treaty regarding the maintenance of the status quo of defense preparations. A group in the Army which wanted to participate also in the Navy disarmament discussion, submitted the view that the problem of defense preparations and questions regarding the Philippines, Hawaii, and Hong Kong should be included in the agenda of the preliminary conference and be debated anew. The Foreign Ministry absolutely opposed this. Doesn't Japan already have command of the Pacific Ocean? It was finally determined that the agenda would include purely military problems only."

Prince SAIONJI stated: "When the Grand Chamberlain came some time ago, I relayed to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, through him, the message: 'In case there is a political change, I would like to reply to the Imperial Inquiry according to the procedure which has been previously reported privately to the Emperor.' The Grand Chamberlain understood very well, and seemed to have the same view as myself."

I returned to Tokyo on the night of the 16th. FUTAKAMI, Chief Secretary of the Privy Council, resigned, and went to the Court of Administrative Litigation. The fact

that FUTAKAMI, who had long been the scourge of the Privy Council, had been transferred, was very favorably received everywhere.

On the morning of the 20th, I met the Grand Chamberlain, and we discussed many things. The Grand Chamberlain stated: 'When I visited Okitsu some time ago, Prince SAIONJI said to me: 'When KIDO came, I told him that I would reconsider the matter. I have thought the matter over well, and I still think that all the former Premiers whould be brought together, as was reported privately to the Emperor, and their opinions requested. I think it very fair, in a sense, to solicit people's opinions widely. We must alsc acknowledge the fact that at present there is an atmosphere in society that is favorable to such a procedure. Therefore, I should like to hear the opinions of those who have been premiers.— Admiral SAITO, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, Count KIYOURA, Baron WAKATSUKI, and the President of the Privy Council. Please relay this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.' When I returned, I transmitted this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: 'In that case, we must ask Prince SAIONJI to come up in t is instance.'"

The Grand Chamberlain also told me very confidentially: "Recently when the Prime Minister visited the Palace, the conversation touched upon the disarmament problem. The Emperor told the Prime Minister: 'The draft of instructions concerning disarmament last time was a big failure. After all, there is the other party to consider. We must listen to their opinions and also state our own opinions. By discovering the ground on which our opinions coincide, and basing our decisions

upon that, we can, for the first time, contribute to the hapiness of mankind and the peace of the world. It is desirable to say from the beginning that it must be this way, or to give such narrow instructions that no moves can be made. You must give out broader and freer instructions."

On the 20th, the amendment of the election law safely passed the Privy Council. The report of the Minister of Justice hasn't been forthcoming as expected, and that situation is still the same as before.

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Chapter 137
(29 June 1934)

Wanted: A Strong Premier

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 21st, I (HARADA) went to Okitsu. Prince SAIONJI said to me: "This is confidential. When NAKAGAWA, Kojuro, met HIRANUMA, he was told: 'I have no intention of taking charge of the political situation. Please relay to Prince SAIONJI the fact that I think that KATO, Kanji, is suitable as the next Prime Minister.' He (HIRANUMA) added: 'MAZAKI, ARAKI, and War Minister HAYASHI feel the same way about the appointment of Admiral KATO.' NAKAGAWA met the War Minister personally and was told: 'Admiral KATO is a good choice.' HIRANUMA is recommending KATO. Although HIRANUMA is pushing KATO to the front, it can also be taken that HIRANUMA might become Home Minister and intends in essence to do the work of the Prime Minister. Anyway, please pretend that you know nothing about what NAKAGAWA came and told me."

It seems that NAKAGAWA also told Prince SAIONJI that: "Previously, this matter was supposed to be reported to Prince FUSHIMI, Fleet Admiral, by General ARIMA. However, OGASAWARA, Naganari, reported the matter to Prince FUSHIMI. His Highness, the Fleet Admiral said: 'So the matter has been precipitated that much.'"

He (SAIONJI) said: "Please tell only the Grand Chamberlain about this matter." Therefore, I met the Grand Chamberlain on the 23rd, and told him about it. On the 24th, I met the War Minister. He said: "If HIRANUMA does not assume charge of the coming political

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situation, I think that Admiral KATO would be a good man." It can be generally surmised that what NAKAGAWA told Prince SAIONJI was not mistaken.

KOIZUMI, Sakutaro, came to visit me. He stated: "I wanted to meet Prince SAIONJI and inquired about a convenient time. I was told he couldn't see me for quite some time, and, therefore, I came to see you. I would like to write about Emperor KOMEI's letters. I would like to borrow the Biography of Emperor KOMEI which belongs to the TOKUDAIJI family, and that is the reason I came." However, I think he came actually to talk about politics.

KOIZUMI continued: "If such a matter (politics) should come up spontaneously when I see Prince SAIONJI, I would like to report accurate facts. Therefore, I have seen Count KIYOURA, General UGAKI, Baron HIRANUMA, and Prince TOKUGAWA. Baron HIRANUMA expressed a very strong opinion stating: 'There is no one but myself who can hold down the Army. Aren't the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Genro (SAIONJI) being oppressed at present by the Army?' I figured that it was no use to discuss the matter further, and I came home without talking too much with him. General UGAKI is full of vigour, and has great determination. The public says that I am using UGAKI as a figurehead. However, I still think that General UGAKI is the most suitable person at this time."

The newspapers, at that time, repeatedly wrote up the statements of the War Minister saying: "The War Minister will intervene in this incident," or: "He wishes to state what he thinks about the present poli-

tical situation." The Tokyo Nichinichi, especially, was using the War Minister in a very menacing manner.

I phoned the Minister of Justice and inquired: "Just what does it all mean?" He replied: "The War Minister sent a messenger to my place and said: 'Members of the War Council who are seeking the overthrow of the Cabinet are telling me to bring up questions regarding the present incident, that is, the rayon problem, at a Cabinet meeting. I thought it would put the Minister of Justice in an embarrassing position if I brought up such questions at the Cabinet meeting, and wanted to hear your ideas first.' I immediately met the War Minister somewhere and gave him a complete story of the circumstances up to the present. I explained to him fully the extent of the progress of the investigation and stated that the Procurator's Office was conducting it satisfactorily. I said that it would be very embarrassing to have the matter brought up at a Cabinet meeting. We parted after this conversation, and there is nothing particularly serious."

He (Minister of Justice) continued: "Recently, the Kokumin Domei, in conjunction with rightist groups, has been trying to spread evil propaganda about the political parties over and above the bad reputation they already have. They are spreading rumors that: 'Twenty-eight persons in the Seiyukai and fifteen members of the Minseito, including practically all of the leaders of these parties, have received hush-money in connection with this rayon case.' The truth according to what I hear, is: 'Of course, there are some in the Seiyukai, but there aren't as many as twenty-eight

persons. As for the Minseito, the name of one person has been mentioned casually. This, too, is nothing serious. The Kokumin Domei has been propagandizing exaggeratedly in order to slander the already existing political parties. There may be four or five involved, but it is entirely false to accuse over twenty persons in the Seiyukai.' The origin of this problem is that SHORIKI and HATOYAMA were aiding the Seiyukai to raise election funds for the general election. It all started from that."

I talked to NAGATA, Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau. He repeatedly said: "No matter what sort of political change takes place, the present War Minister must be retained." The Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board stated: "A gang broke into the post-office at Aoyama. Upon investigation, we found that they had six pistols and a great many bullets. On pursuing the matter, we learned that they had received some thousands of yen from Major KUROKI, deceased. This is like the May 15th Incident, and the object was to assassinate the Premier. It has quite a close connection with the rightists, and the Kempei are also under suspicion." He continued: "Major KUROKI was attached to Semonov of Russia. He was a favourite of former War Minister ARAKI. It is a fact that money has been put up by the Army. We are investigating further."

I departed on the night of the 25th and went to Okitsu. On the morning of the 26th, I met Prince SAIONJI and made a general report. Prince SAIONJI asked: "Then, if there is a political change, is OKADA all right as successor? I wonder if that is agreeable to

to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

I replied: "It seems that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal doesn't wish to touch upon the subject too definitely. Generally speaking, I think that will be all right. The Prime Minister supports that opinion, and he says: 'I shall talk to TAKAHASHI myself.' In general, IKKI, President of the Privy Council, doesn't seem to have any objections." He (SAIO JI) said: "Please talk it over with IKKI once more."

I returned on the 27th. I went to see IKKI, President of the Privy Council, on the morning of the 29th. I talked to him about the matter, and IKKI, President of the Privy Council, was of the same opinion.

Over the 27th and the 28th, there was quite a clamor over the story that the report of Minister of Justice KOYAMA would be completed very soon and would immediately be transmitted to the Prime Minister on the 29th. Newspaper reporters were making quite a fuss. Therefore, I met the Minister of Justice on the 28th. He said: "We know the general outline. I think that it will probably be completed somehow today. If it is completed, I may report on it tomorrow."

On the morning of the 29th, after I returned from my visit with IKKI, President of the Privy Council, the Prime Minister phoned saying: "Please come over immediately." I went to the Prime Minister's place about 9:30. He stated: "What I want to talk to you about is the fact that I met Finance Minister TAKAHASHI yesterday and told him about Admiral OKADA. He didn't particularly disagree. But he said: 'I wonder if OKADA will show his courage and do the job.' I explained

to him fully: 'In any event, the Finance Minister must be someone who is recommended by yourself.' He replied: 'At the moment, I think that if it were to be TSUCHIKATA, Governor of the Bank of Japan, he would listen to what I say, and I could back him up.' I told TAKAHASHI much about the consultations, their procedure, and other matters." The Prime Minister added: "If OKADA is suggested in this instance, TAKAHASHI will, naturally, approve." The Prime Minister continued: "There was no word up to noon today (29th) from the Minister of Justice. Even if I hear from him this afternoon, the documents will have to be compiled and studied. Also, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI stated: 'I would like to bring up several questions on the matter.' Therefore, it will probably take another four or five days."

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Chapter 138
(6 July 1934)

Okada Appointed Premier

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

In the afternoon, before the Cabinet meeting, the Prime Minister was told: "NAKAJIMA, former Minister, will probably have to be investigated also." A detailed report was given on matters regarding KURODA and OKUBO up to the present, with the explanation that they had confessed. As far as the public was concerned, it was told that there had been no intermediate report as yet. However, the truth of the matter was that developments up to the present, and the confessions of defendants connected with the Finance Ministry, were definitely reported on the 29th. It was said: "NAKAJIMA, MITSUCHI and HATOYAMA are on the must list to be investigated." Although procedures to be followed in the future were discussed, the fact is that there was no conclusive evidence. Although, the former Minister might not actually be guilty, he had been summoned by the Procurator's Office. The Prime Minister felt that he could not decently tolerate this. On the other hand, he felt that he could not withstand the atmosphere which the press had created by this time. He made his decision to resign at this time.

The Minister of Justice met the Finance Minister the next day, the 30th, and summarized the whole situation. The Finance Minister had said: "I would like to bring up questions on the matter until I am satisfied. I would also like to look at something that has actually been written, even if it's a simple document." Therefore, the Minister of Justice and the Finance Minis-

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ter had met on the 30th. Before they met, the Prime Minister and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI had a chat.

The Prime Minister still felt that it would be unfavorable to continue in view of all this. On the 1st, the Prime Minister called the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, and made arrangements for members of the House of Peers to be Imperially nominated. On the night of the 2nd, I was to depart and go to Okitsu. When I met the Prime Minister on the 2nd, he said: "At the Cabinet meeting on the 3rd, I intend to review in general the report of the Minister of Justice and also to tell my Cabinet colleagues about my decision." He intimated: "Depending upon that situation, I intend to propose a resignation en bloc on the afternoon of the 3rd."

I had a phone call from KIDO. He stated: "I hear that Prince SAIONJI is moving to Gotemba from Okitsu on the 4th. That is one day after the resignation en bloc. He may not be able to come to Tokyo to reply to the Imperial inquiry due to the conditon of his health. Yet, if he should go to Gotemba on the 4th and doesn't comply with the Imperial summons to come to Tokyo, a contention might arise that the Genro (SAIONJI) is contumacious. It would be undesirable to arouse the public like this. I wonder how it would be if we asked him to move it up one day and go to Gotemba on the 3rd."

Primarily, the reason that Prince SAIONJI is moving to Gotemba a little earlier is that it is very hot this year, and his blood pressure has risen very high on account of this heat. Dr. KATSUNUMA has urged that it is necessary to go to a cool place as soon as possible, and he worried a lot about Prince SAIONJI's health.

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His high blood pressure may be caused by fatigue. At the same time, it is easy to tell that he has been affected by the heat. Those who didn't know the actual state of affairs might say: "Since he can move to Gotemba, he can move around. It is outrageous for him to say that he can't come to Tokyo in view of that." The truth is that his blood pressure is so high that he has to move to a cooler place as soon as possible. For Prince SAIONJI to go to not Tokyo in his present condition is very dangerous from the standpoint of his health. To say: "Since he is going to Gotemba, why shouldn't he also come to Tokyo?" is a very illogical argument. Although people who do not know the facts may say so, it is an actual fact that he is so fatigued that he could not comply with the Imperial summons.

In any event, I appreciated KIDO's opinion on the matter, and phoned Okitsu on the morning of the 2nd. I asked that the following message be transmitted to Prince SAIONJI: "I have received this suggestion from KIDO. I wonder if it might not be better to move it up to the 3rd in this instance." Prince SAIONJI said: "In that case, I shall go on the 3rd." It was suddenly decided that he would move on the 3rd.

I left on the night of the 2nd, and went to Shizuoka. At 8:30 on the morning of the 3rd, I went to Okitsu. I told Prince SAIONJI about the various circumstances. I stated: "If the resignation en bloc is decided upon this afternoon, they may bring the Imperial summons immediately to Gotemba." I pondered the matter, and considered the fact that both the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Grand Chamberlain already

kn w that Prince SAIONJI's present health wasn't very good. Liaison with Court officials close to the Emperor has been established in normal times, and they have been very much worried about Prince SAIONJI's health. Since they know the circumstances as to why he cannot comply with the Imperial summons, it would solve matters quickly if the Grand Chamberlain came as the Imperial messenger as soon as the resignation en bloc was decided upon, instead of aggravating matters by dispatching a chamberlain with the summons. At any rate, this is an instance when it is necessary for matters to progress very rapidly, I phoned KIDO and talked to him confidentially about the possibility of dispatching the Grand Chamberlain. KIDO said: "The Grand Chamberlain has his own opinion about that. At any rate, aside from the question whether he can or cannot comply with the Imperial summons, the procedure of the chamberlain taking the Imperial summons cannot be dispensed with."

The reason for this was that up to now an Imperial messenger had come to the Genro's place in instances of political change, and Prince SAIONJI had recently gone to Tokyo twice, when the next to the last change took place. Before that, the matter was generally settled with the Imperial messenger. However, the statements of a group of militarists and rightists were clamorous regarding this situation saying: "It's hard to tell whether the Genro or the Emperor is the important person. For the Emperor to send a messenger to the Genro each time there is a political change is to invert the proper order. It is proper for the Genro to comply with the Imperial summons, and to come to the Emperor and render

his services as a Genro even if he is ill. It is extremely outrageous for the Emperor to keep sending messengers, and for the Genro to give out instructions from his place, even if he is aged." Upon hearing this, the Grand Chamberlain acted very cautiously. In any event, he would dispatch a chamberlain. It is unavoidable if he is actually sick and can't come. However, generally speaking, he seemed to think it only proper for the Genro to come up.

I said to KIDO: "The idea of the Grand Chamberlain is mistaken. Whenever the Court officials close to the Emperor see us, they say: 'Please be even more careful of Prince SAIONJI's health, so that he can retain his health even one day longer and serve the Emperor.' Now they say that whether he is sick or not: 'It is only right for the Genro to comply with the Imperial summons as far as possible and to come up (to Tokyo) and serve the Emperor.' What if, by some chance, his health becomes impaired and something happens? If the Emperor could stop the Genro's making a special trip to Tokyo by expressing an opinion that: 'The Genro is very aged, and it would be distressing if he should, by any chance, impair his health in this heat.' Then, if the Emperor should even go so far as to dispatch the Grand Chamberlain as the Imperial messenger, it would cause public admiration of his virtue to rise a great deal. It is not for the Emperor's good to order: 'Come to Tokyo' by an Imperial command whether it's hot or cold. At the same time, it would mean making light of the Genro." I said this repeatedly to KIDO, but KIDO wouldn't listen.

Prince SAIONJI heard me talking like this over the

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phone in the drawing room. He decided: "Instead of saying such things, I think I shall go to Tokyo tomorrow at once. (That is, I shall leav on the train leaving Gotemba at 7:00 A.M. on the 4th and go to Tokyo. I shall settle the matter in one day and again return to Gotemba on the four o'clock train in the afternoon.)"

I phoned KIDO in Tokyo again and said: "Prince SAIONJI will go to Tokyo tomorrow morning. Therefore, please relay this to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'If the Prime Minister comes today to report the resignation en bloc to the Emperor, please summon the former Permiers and the President of the Privy Council to the Palace by 10:00 o'clock tomorrow morning in accordance with the procedure already reported privately to the Emperor.'" KIDO seemed to be put very much at ease by this. He said: "I'm sorry to trouble him when it is so very hot, but it is unavoidable." He was very glad, and the matter was left at that.

Arrangements for the train and other details were made immediately on our way to Gotemba. KIDO had said to me: "Please return immediately to Tokyo on the same train that you take with Prince SAIONJI." Therefore, when Prince SAIONJI got off at Gotemba, I parted with him at the same time and returned to Tokyo at once.

I went to the Palace and was talking with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Grand Chamberlain, and the Imperial Household Minister, when KIDO also joined in. At that time, I said: "Prince SAIONJI jokingly said to me: 'I think that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and other Court officials close to the Emperor magnify too much such matters as this political change.

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To make a big fuss about it is extremely undesirable. In the first place, political changes come every two or three years, and it is unfavorable unless these matters are treated as normal and with a little less fuss. It is extremely regrettable that the newspapers make a clamor, the public makes a clamor, and that even the Court officials close to the Emperor treat the matter so exaggeratedly. When you return to Tokyo, throw some water on the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's head." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said laughingly: "I don't care if water or ice is thrown on me. I am satisfied if Prince SAIONJI's visit to Tokyo can be hoped for."

We consulted together about various arrangements. I went by a late train to the Fujiya Hotel at Hakone. Next morning at 5:00 I left the hotel and reached Gotemba sometime after six. About six or seven newspaper-men came with me from Tokyo. When I got to Gotemba, I found forty reporters from Tokyo staying at various hotels in Gotemba, and there was quite a commotion.

I accompanied Prince SAIONJI on the 7:05 train. As soon as we reached Tokyo, at 9:40, we went to the Palace. At the Palace, he spoke casually with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Imperial Household Minister. The former Premiers, SAITO, TAKAHASHI, WAKATSUKI, and KIYOURA, and also the President of the Privy Council and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, gathered in the Nishidomari room of the Palace with the Genro (SAIONJI) as the central figure.

First of all, the Genro set forth the fundamental

idea: "The Emperor's wishes are that the spirit of the Constitution must be respected in every sense, and that affairs of state, whether foreign or domestic, should not be conducted unreasonable." Then he stated: "I woulk like to hear your opinions regarding the kind of person necessary, judging from the present trend of the times, in which the SAITO Cabinet was forced to resign due to certain circumstances."

He said to SAITO, former Premier: "State your opinion first." Former Prime Minister SAITO replied: "I am the person responsible for the present situation. I do not think that it is reasonable for me to speak up now, and it is difficult for me to say anything." The Genro replied: "There is no need to hold back. You have been taking part in the actual conduct of administration until today, and you are the best informed on the situation. Please express your opinion without reserve for the sake of the nation."

Prime Minister SAITO expressed his opinion in detail. Finally, he said: "I think that Admiral OKADA would be the most suitable as my successor. The main point is that it is most necessary, both from an international and domestic standpoint, that the exis ing policy of the Government shall proceed without any change. A sudden change would be unfavorable when you consider its effect on the financial world and the confidence of foreign countries. Therefore, is not Admiral OKADA the most suitable person?"

Finance Minister TAKAHASHI expressed the same opinion. WAKATSUKI, former Premier, also approved of it. The Genro inserted a humorous comment: "It is good that

WAKATSUKI, former Premier, approves. You must not only approve here, but you must also in reality support the Government to the end with your political party for the sake of the nation." Premier WAKATSUKI said: "I shall give my assistance without fail."

Count KIYOURA naturally expressed his approval also. Although WAKATSUKI and KIYOURA mentioned UGAKI, it was said: "UGAKI is undesirable at pr sent." Baron IKKI, President of the Privy Council, approved of OKADA highly, and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal naturally was agreeable. When the general opinion had been expressed, Prince SAIONJI stated: "I shall report to the Emperor that the whole group agreed on OKADA unanimously." At this time, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal announced: "Please keep the matters discussed here to yourselves." KIYOURA approved of this.

Prince SAIONJI appeared before the Emperor and in reply to his inquiry stated: "Please give your Imperial Command to Admiral OKADA on this occasion to form the next Cabinet." The Emperor was very pleased. He acknowledged very warmly that it had been very good of Prince SAIONJI to come to Tokyo in this heat in spite of his age. He expressed his great satisfaction by saying: "If it is OKADA, it will ease my mind very much." Prince SAIONJI was deeply moved, and withdrew from his Imperial Presence.

After that, he made a report of his interview with the Emperor to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Grand Chamberlain, and the Imperial Household Minister in the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's room. After leaving the Palace, he retired to the SUMITOMO detached house

at Ichibei-cho. He changed his clothes there, and had a leisurely lunch.

I went home first and then to the detached house at Ichibei-cho about 1:30. When I saw Prince SAIONJI, he gave me the general story of what had taken place as above. During the conference at the Palace, IKKI, KIYOURA, and WAKATSUKI exchanged words of recognition with SAITO, former Premier, saying: "The public says: 'The SAITO Cabinet doesn't do anything.' However, actually, you were doing many and varied tasks. Thank you for all your trouble."

Therefore, Prince SAIONJI laughes and jokingly said: "The reason that Prime Minister SAITO was especially recommended to the Emperor as the leader of the Cabinet the previous time -- that is, that he was chosen as the only possible person — was that SAITO did not do anything, in view of the situation at that time." Prince SAIONJI said that Prime Minister SAITO laughed heartily at this.

We left at 4:00 o'clock, and I saw Prince SAIONJI to Gotemba on the 4:25 train. I returned to Tokyo on the last train. Before I returned, Prince SAIONJI repeatedly said: "In any event, the Emperor seemed very well satisfied and at ease in connection with OKADA. Whether behind the scenes or out in front, please do your best to be of as much service as possible to OKADA. I cannot say anything directly regarding the Government. However, I shall help as much as my sphere allows."

When I returned home at 12:00 o'clock, I found many newspapermen there, and they were making various

statements.

At 8:30 on the morning of the 5th, I went to OKADA's place to pay my respects. (The Japanese room of the Prime Minister's official residence had become the headquarters for the organization of the Cabinet, and I went there.) On my way home, I paid my respects to SAITO, and came home.

During my conversation with OKADA, he said: "TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, has stated: 'TSUCHIKATA of the Bank of Japan is somewhat unsatisfactory as my successor. It's a little premature, but I shall recommend FUJII, Manobu, the present Vice-Minister of Finance, for Finance Minister as a special choice.' I intend to decide on him also." The principal Cabinet members had been generally settled by the evening of the 5th. Only negotiations with the political parties had become somewhat entangled, and this will require time and trouble.

The story goes back now, but it was long ago that we first began to consider Admiral OKADA as a suitable person. It finally became so that it had to be Admiral OKADA. However, Admiral OKADA isn't a political party man, nor does he ordinarily burn with desire for political power. Therefore, he has practically no influential friends. Prince SAIONJI has worried a great deal for sometime: "OKADA is all right, but since he doesn't have influential friends, those around him must warn him to be very careful. It would be distressing if he were cautioned too much, and that was taken as a conspiracy. Yet we must urge caution to a certain extent." I had casually questioned Admiral OKADA to a certain extent as to whether he had the determination to

accept in case it happened (Imperial Command). At the same time I determined by various methods just what sort of people he would center his Cabinet around in case of the eventuality. I also obtained information about men of high character from an impartial standpoint. OKADA himself had not thought from the first that the Imperial Command would fall to him, nor had we.

I had said to him: "I think it would be very regrettable if the Genro should, by some chance, suggest Admiral OKADA, and you couldn't accept because of difficulties in forming a Cabinet, or because it was too sudden. If it is absolutely necessary that you accept for the sake of the nation, you must be quite prepared. It is completely unknown whether it will come about, one chance out of a hundred. In any event, you must at least make your preparations." I secretly told him that he should have people in mind for Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, and for Home Minister, who will be the central figure.

I told only the President of the Privy Council that, generally speaking, Prince SAIONJI had this person in mind. Viscount SAITO, who was Prime Minister up to now, told only TAKAHASHI about the general situation and had asked: "Won't he be all right?"

Matters had proceeded in this manner. Finally at 2:00 P.M. on the 4th, Admiral OKADA was summoned before the Emperor, and the Imperial Command was given (to form the next Cabinet). Admiral OKADA requested a little time, and withdrew from the Imperial presence. He immediately borrowed the Japanese room of the Premier's official residence as headquarter for the organization

of the Cabinet, and commenced to make arrangements.

Concerning relationship with the political parties, Prince SAIONJI had stated that in this case: "There are varied rumors concerning members of the present political parties in connection with problems of administration, and I can't bear to hear them. It is only proper that constitutional government should be respected. However, in essence the present political parties are bad, and there is no need to place too much importance on the political parties of today.

"If he (OKADA) is going to make connections, have WAKATSUKI and TOKONAMI join the Cabinet as Ministers of State. It shouldn't matter which Ministries they take charge of, whether it's Communications or Railways. It is unfavorable for them to throw a wet blanket by specifying which Ministry it must be. With the intention of joining as main stays, why shouldn't they accept the Railways Ministry, Communications, Agriculture, or any other? There is no need to depend upon the political parties too much. Wouldn't it be well to convey that idea to him?"

At first, he (OKADA) desired to have GOTO as Home Minister. However, GOTO wouldn't accept. Due to his relationship with KONOYE and his friendship with ARAKI, he stated: "Because of obligations, I shall give my assistance. However, I cannot take the post of Home Minister." In this instance, I urged GOTO, saying: "This is no time to conduct yourself by saying things based upon personal feelings. Since Admiral OKADA has received the Imperial Command, it is only right that you help him out, so that he can admirably organize a

Cabinet, and also work as best he can for the good of the nation. Why don't you voluntarily assume the post of Home Minister?" IKKI, President of the Privy Council, urged him, as did Prime Minister SAITO. Although it was not announced to the public at first that he was to be Home Minister, GOTO, inevitably, entered the headquarters for the organization of the Cabinet at the same time as KAWADA, Retsu. These two became the central figures and began preparations for the formation of the Cabinet.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 139
(12 July 1934)

Okada's Cabinet

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

Admiral OKADA at first wanted to organize a Cabinet without connections with political parties, what might be called a bureaucratic or transcendental Cabinet. In many ways it would be easier to maintain unity. He thought that they could proceed more assuredly in that way.

GOTO was still hesitant about joining the Cabinet. I phoned GOTO and said: "If, in this case, you do not join, even if it's against your will, the Cabinet will be forced into failure. According to Prince SAIONJI, the Emperor seems to feel relieved, saying he is very pleased with Admiral OKADA. Therefore, it is entirely out of the question to hesitate because of personal feelings toward KONOYE or sentiments toward General ARAKI."

GOTO finally seemed to have made up his mind and to have determined to join the Cabinet, saying: "Up to now I have been refusing Prime Minister SAITO and others about joining the Cabinet. However, please tell them that I will reconsider."

He did not go so far as to make it a condition of acceptance, but in relation to his decision, GOTO felt that it would be better to include political parties than have a non-party Cabinet. Since he emphasized that it would be better to include political parties, Admiral OKADA also became disposed to having political parties represented.

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Okada's Cabinet

First of all Admiral OKADA visited President SUZUKI (of Seiyukai) and told him: "I have unexpectedly received the Imperial Command this time. Please help me. I would like to have you select a Cabinet Minister." President SUZUKI replied: "Why don't you have a bureaucratic Cabinet? I cannot select a Cabinet Minister. It will be annoying if you pick anyone out." He stressed that point. Admiral OKADA further stated: "We can't do anything unless we have the aid of the political parties. Please think it over further."

From there he visited WAKATSUKI, President of the Minseito. He said: "I have unexpectedly received the Imperial Command this time. I must ask for your help in this connection. Please select a Cabinet Minister." WAKATSUKI, President, asked: "How many Cabinet Ministers do you want?" Also: "Do you have any opinions regarding anyone?" Admiral OKADA replied: "I shall think it over later and then answer you."

Admiral OKADA used practically the same words in talking to the President of the Seiyukai and the President of the Minseito. The replies of President SUZUKI and President WAKATSUKI were entirely different just as their characters differed. Such matters became known to the press, and all sorts of rumors flew. It was rumored that Admiral OKADA had said different things to each person, but this was contrary to the actual facts.

The next time Admiral OKADA said to the President of the Seiyukai: "Please give me MOCHIZUKI and TOKONAMI." President SUZUKI replied: "I cannot consent to anything

until it's been deliberated at a party council." The Seiyukai held a party council and also held many meetings of the executives. TOKONAMI himself burned with a desire to join the Cabinet, throwing everything aside, since it was a matter of national unity. He seemed determined to enter the Cabinet no matter what anyone said. The Prime Minister called MOCHIZUKI and urged him and TOKONAMI to join the Cabinet. MOCHIZUKI said: "Since I was Home Minister at the time of the Coronation, I do not wish to become Minister of State hereafter." He wouldn't consent, saying: "I'll recommend someone else."

While the Prime Minister was urging TOKONAMI and negotiating with him, SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai, sent a messenger to HIROTA, Foreign Minister, to transmit his intentions. The message was: "The Seiyukai will unitedly support the Government. Therefore, please don't take anyone as Cabinet Minister." HIROTA, Foreign Minister, transmitted that message to me and said: "Please tell Admiral OKADA."

In the end, SUZUKI, President of the Seiyukai, himself phoned HIROTA, Foreign Minister. He said: "I would like to meet Admiral OKADA personally. Please make it as soon as possible. The Seiyukai will help from the outside, so please don't take anyone as Cabinet Minister. We will use YAMAOKA, Mannosuke, as liaison with the Government." The Foreign Minister phoned me and said: "Please relay the message." When I relayed it to Admiral OKADA, he replied: "I consent. But united party aid from the outside cannot be depended upon. We may have to face many dangers because of that.

The Government cannot be carried on by repeating futile acts." He still endeavored wholeheartedly to have them join the Cabinet. When the President of the Seiyukai came to visit him later on, he repeated again and again: "I want MOCHIZUKI and TOKONAMI." The President refused saying: "It's utterly impossible."

TOKONAMI stated: "I shall enter gladly. I shall join the Cabinet even if I have to leave the Party. Until now, the Government has asked for two persons from the Seiyukai and one from the Minseito. Please increase it two more and make it three persons from the Seiyukai and two from the Minseito. To increase the number joining from the political parties will mean that you are respecting political party politics that much more." He attached this condition and insisted stubbornly on three persons.

OKADA agreed to the change to three persons. He indicated TOKONAMI, YAMAZAKI, and UCHIDA as the three. TOKONAMI insistently said: "Please include AKITA." He held out from 1:00 o'clock until 2:00 o'clock in the first grey of the dawn and wouldn't go home. MOCHIZUKI also recommended AKITA. There were some who imagined that the reason these three were chosen was: "If all goes well, don't they intend to put TOKONAMI in as Home Minister?" When GOTO had gone to urge TOKONAMI to join the Cabinet, he had said to GOTO: "You still have a lot of work left over in connection with agriculture. Wouldn't you be better as Minister of Agriculture?" He hinted that it would be better to put him in charge of the Home Ministry.

TOKONAMI persistently said: "Put AKITA in," and

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TOKONAMI persistently said: "Put AKITA in," and

wouldn't go home. At 2:00 a.m. on the 5th, GOTO phoned me. The phone call in the night was to say: "He is holding out and won't consent. Admiral OKADA persistently says: 'I want to avoid putting AKITA in at all costs.' It may end in a fiasco. In that case, we would like to make the present Vice-Minister the Minister of Railways. If you are well acquainted with him, will you please ascertain whether he would definitely accept in such a case."

I phoned the home of KUBOTA, Vice-Minister of Railways. I said: "I am calling you in the night, but these are the facts." KUBOTA replied: "The Vice-President of the Manchurian Railways is suitable for Railways Minister." He declined the appointment for himself. However, I told KUBOTA: "It is better for you to take it." KUBOTA promised to accept it.

After a short time, GOTO phoned, about 3:00 o'clock. He said: "TOKONAMI finally gave in and decided to withdraw his proposal of AKITA. TOKONAMI, YAMAZAKI, and UCHIDA will join as representatives of the Seiyukai. It is badly bungled, but we are going to put these three in and take MACHIDA, Chuji, and MATSUDA, Genji from the Minseito."

Thinking it over, the "someone else" meant by MOCHIZUKI, when he declined for himself and said: "I'd like to put in someone else," was AKITA. The origin of: "Please increase the two persons to three," seems to have been a scheme for AKITA. The SUZUKI faction thought that it would be a windfall if AKITA jointed the Cabinet, and had hoped for its realization.

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However, Admiral OKADA resolutely refused to let AKITA enter the Cabinet. He rejected until the end TOKONAMI's earnest request extending over two hours. In his stead UCHIDA was chosen. At first UCHIDA wouldn't even approach the headquarters for the organization of the Cabinet saying: "It would place me in an awkward position because it would seem like maneuvering," and he declined. However, in this case, if persons not included in the protocol as a result of the investigations of the Ministry of Justice were to be named, there wouldn't be any except perhaps UCHIDA, YAMAZAKI, and TOKONAMI. This is the reason they finally were settled on.

During this time, the SUZUKI faction, or President SUZUKI himself, had called HIROTA, Foreign Minister, and had stated: "We do not want you to take anyone as Cabinet Minister. The Seiyukai will help the Government as a united party." Because it was said that it would be quite dangerous if Admiral OKADA should carelessly heed those words, he took three persons from the Seiyukai as Cabinet Ministers instead of acceding to them. If he did as President SUZUKI said, he (SUZUKI) would surely in the future establish an organ outside of the Government, like a national policy investigation committee or some such agency, as a liaison organ with the Cabinet. If they put the President of the Seiyukai or the leaders in it and tried to control the Government, the Government wouldn't be able to conduct the administration freely. Therefore, this was rejected, and three persons were finally taken as Cabinet Minister.

Concerning this, according to the layman's ideas of

HIROTA, Foreign Minister, and myself, it would seem like a very good idea to believe in the sincerity of SUZUKI, and to have him really help from outside the Cabinet. However, as an actual fact, the actions of Admiral OKADA were wise from the political angle. Later when I visited Prince SAIONJI at Gotemba and this story came up, he said: "The procedure taken by Admiral OKADA was better."

The investiture was finally over at 10:00 a.m. on the 8th, and the new Cabinet was established in the afternoon. On the 9th, I visited Prince SAIONJI at Gotemba. I gave a general report on the formation of the Cabinet and told him many things. Just before I departed (from Tokyo), I had met the new Prime Minister. He had given me the message: "Please give my best regards to Prince SAIONJI. I am sorry that the organization of the Cabinet was extremely clumsy. It was especially clumsy to have taken persons like UCHIDA and MATSUDA as Cabinet Ministers." I transmitted this message to Prince SAIONJI.

Prince SAIONJI said comfortingly: "Anyway, it was quite good." He continued: "I hear that there is talk of holding an extraordinary session of the Diet. It would be better to avoid an extraordinary session if possible. It will be better not to have a dissolution until the regular session of the Diet." He added: "Isn't it better to dissolve the Diet twice or three times and to do things resolutely?" He stated: "Please give my regards to everyone." To me, he said: "Since this is a newly-established Cabinet, establish a good

liaison and look after it for a while."

When I returned to Tokyo, I met KIDO. He said: "Until now the substance of Cabinet meetings has not been reported to the Emperor each time. Therefore the Emperor learns of them through the newspapers, and confirms the authenticity of the news with the Prime Minister through the Grand Chamberlain. These matters might be relayed mistakenly and there is danger that the Court officials close to the Emperor might be subjected to criticism. Therefore, it is the opinion of the Grand Chamberlain that it might be well to start with this Cabinet a custom of having the Prime Minister report the substance of the Cabinet meeting each time after it is over. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal also thinks that way."

I relayed this story to the Prime Minister and said that as a Minister of State he should report to the Emperor on affairs of state under his jurisdiction, whether large or small. He replied: "I think I shall do that as much as possible. However, it would be distressing if it were misconstrued to mean that all responsibility was being diverted to the Emperor because I requested an audience each time there was a Cabinet meeting and reported to him. I would like to request an Imperial audience more frequently than before, according to some good procedure, and report to him in detail."

He also stated: "I would like to ask all present administrative officials to resign and appoint some anew." However, later, according to indications of the Cabinet meeting, the other Ministers said: "Please

leave them as they are now." It didn't turn out as the Prime Minister wanted.

The problem that came up at once was that of the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. The former Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs became Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, and a new one had to be appointed. The bureau chiefs who were seniors in the Ministry of Overseas Affairs seemed to desire the appointment of KORIYAMA. Speaking from the standpoint of its relationship to the Army and Navy, the Ministry of Overseas Affairs is not an independent organ. The War and Navy Ministries requested: 'Please bring in TSUBOKAMI of the Foreign Ministry as Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs.' I had previously told the Prime Minister about this in secret. The Prime Minister explained the matter to KAWADA, Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. He selected TSUBOKAMI of the Foreign Ministry and determined to make him Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs. The Prime Minister impatiently said to me: "Please ascertain whether TSUBOKAMI will really accept." I visited TSUBOKAMI at the Foreign Ministry at once and inquired: "Will you accept the post of Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs?" He replied: "Please wait until tomorrow for an answer."

I phoned the Prime Minister about this. The Prime Minister said very impatiently: "I must have an answer this very day. I want to announce it today." Together with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, I urged TSUBOKAMI again, but he wouldn't consent. Therefore, I said to TSUBOKAMI: "It is the Prime Minister's

desire to have a Ministry of Overseas Affairs like the one you have in mind. That is, he wants to make the Ministry of Overseas Affairs an efficient organ and to have it revert voluntarily to its original purpose. It is distressing to have an incomplete organ as it is as present. The essential aim is either to eliminate the Ministry of Overseas Affairs or, if it is to exist, to make it into something significant." Just then the Minister (of Foreign Affairs) returned. We had him call TSUBOKAMI into the Minister's office. The Minister, Vice-Minister and I urged him, and TSUBOKAMI finally consented. He said: "I shall leave the matter to the Minister."

I said to TSUBOKAMI: "The fact that I have been involved in this until now is very irregular. Henceforth, I would like to have everything proceed between the Minister, Vice-Minister, and the Prime Minister, and I shall withdraw." Thus, I severed my connections. After this, the matter progressed rapidly. The next day, at the Cabinet meeting TSUBOKAMI was selected as the Vice-Minister of Overseas Affairs along with other Vice-Ministers. There was a great deal of objection within the Ministry of Overseas Affairs, and there seemed to have been quite a disturbance. However, the matter was to be pushed through with TSUBOKAMI.

At the same time that TOKONAMI, YAMAZAKI, and UCHIDA, members of the Seiyukai entered the Cabinet, the Seiyukai took steps to expel them before they had submitted their written report of secession from the Party. It finally expelled them. After the Prime Minister took them as

Cabinet Ministers, he notified President SUZUKI by phone: "I have taken in TOKONAMI, YAMAZAKI and UCHIDA as Cabinet Ministers." He (SUZUKI) gave notice over the phone that: "They are not Party members."

The relationship with the Seiyukai, especially with SUZUKI and HATCYAMA, became unfavorable. However, the Government seems to have determined to take a cautious attitude, watch the trend in the entire Seiyukai quietly, and then devise counter-measures.

The personnel of the Home Ministry had become quite slack. The fact that GOTO became Home Minister, that NIWA, Hichiro was promoted to Vice-Minister, and that KARASAWA became Chief of the Police Bureau brought new zest to the personnel of the Home Ministry. It was believed that the new leadership would clear the dull atmosphere, and the change was very favorably received. I felt sorry for GOTO, Home Minister, who hadn't wanted to become a Cabinet Minister this time, since the public said that it was due to his own aspirations that he had come out as Home Minister. I regretted this very much.

The appointment of FUJII as Finance Minister improved the atmosphere of the Finance Ministry. It was said to have filled the Ministry with a fresh spirit. The officials of the Finance Ministry were invigorated, and they seem to have determined to carry on their work earnestly and to try to retrieve their honor in expiation of the recent corrupt actions of the Finance Ministry.

There were those who criticized the make-up of this Cabinet. However, they expressed respect for his

noble spirit and a kind of sympathy for OKADA who, without complaining of his honest poverty, had taken the post of Prime Minister empty handed. The press and the public looked upon this with a very good feeling. KAWADA, the new Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, was also very popular. The only regrettable fact was that there was so much resentment against GOTO, Home Minister. This might turn for the better later, depending upon the actions of the Government. I also think that the sympathy of the House of Peers for this Cabinet may develop as a result of its earnestness.

In connection with this political change, Prince SAIONJI had made a one-day trip to Tokyo. Because he replied to the Emperor and returned home like a flash of lightning, it was said: "He is the greatest statesman of our times." It is evident that the feeling of respect for Prince SAIONJI has increased.

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